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Rao Bahadur A. P. PATRO seconded the motion.

The motion that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee was put and carried.

## V

## A BILL TO PROVIDE FOR THE REORGANIZATION OF THE MADRAS UNIVERSITY, 1922.

The hon. Rao Bahadur A. P. PATRO:—"Sir, I beg to move that the Bill to provide for the reorganization of the Madras University be read in Council. As Minister of Education, I am responsible to the Legislative Council and through this House to the people of this Province not only for the reorganization of University education but also for the expansion and development of elementary and secondary education. The Elementary Education Act was approved by the Governor-General in November 1920. After the Reformed Council came into power, District Educational Councils were formed in whom powers were vested to examine the conditions of each locality and provide measures for the expansion of elementary education among the masses. Rules necessary for carrying out the various provisions of the Act were circulated to the public and in consultation with those responsible for the work rules for working the Act were issued. Full freedom is given to the district educational councils to frame curricula and course of studies in elementary schools. Freedom is given in the matter of school accommodation. Looking into the duties of district educational councils, you will find section 24 of the Act is very comprehensive. Section 41 of the Act entitles the manager of any school under private or public management desiring that such school shall be recognized as an elementary school to submit an application in the prescribed form to the educational council. A statutory fund, the elementary education fund, is constituted for each local authority in every district. With the previous sanction of the Government any local authority for which an elementary education fund has been constituted, may levy a tax within its area under conditions laid down in section 34 to which Government will contribute an equal amount under section 37. Though the district educational councils have come into existence fifteen months back some of them have been doing excellent work. Mushroom schools are weeded out, training is chastened and concentrated and new institutions spring in their place. Eight municipal councils, after careful deliberation, adopted free and compulsory system of education for boys and one both for boys and girls. Some other municipal councils are considering the subject and before long greater appreciation of the responsibility will be possible, while some local boards about 72 in number have resolved to levy an education tax for expansion of education. Alongside the expansion of elementary education, Government encouraged manual training in the schools and lessons in elementary agriculture for which primers have recently been drawn up. In the budget, provision was made under compulsory education while an increased provision will be found for expansion of elementary education. Elementary teachers have been graded and large improvement was effected in their salaries. The work is steadily progressing. Development on sound and progressive lines is the policy of the Government, that the elementary education may be more useful and practical. In the field of secondary education, a committee of this Council was appointed to go into the whole question of secondary education and the complete report is awaited. In the meanwhile in order to co-ordinate the work of the

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secondary schools in the districts and to encourage hostel system on co-operative basis to associate the teachers and managers in the organization and administration of the secondary education in rural areas, a district secondary education board will soon come into existence. Power was delegated to managers of public schools in the matter of selection of text books on certain terms; a grant-in-aid is given to struggling schools in aid of helping the salaries of teachers. A provident fund system has been devised to aid the school masters in aided and public schools. Facilities for decentralising the educational work are provided in the re-organization of the superior and subordinate inspecting staff, while the Deputy Inspector will be solely responsible for and work with District Educational Council, the District Educational Officer will work with the secondary education board as its secretary. It is under consideration to split up the present Secondary School-Leaving Certificate Board and form more than one to meet the vast area of the province. The cause of vocational education is being advanced gradually. In the lower forms it is being made almost obligatory while in the higher forms, facilities are created for giving a training to create a bias for further vocational education in technical schools. Managers of high schools were invited to prepare schemes most useful and profitable to the locality. These schemes are examined by the expert advisers, local investigation is made and the schemes are then sanctioned if they are found to be useful. It is a matter of satisfaction that these educational ideas are gaining ground. The provision in the budget under this head indicates the policy of Government to make steady progress in the work. Another educational problem relating to the position of the Intermediate in Arts will be taken up in discussing the report of the Secondary Education Committee and the recommendations of the Academic Council under the new Act. I may however refer you to a resolution of the Senate passed at its meetings held on 4th and 5th March 1921: 'That the Government be requested to appoint a Committee of both University and Government nominees to consider the relation between the University-courses of study and examinations and the qualifications required for entering the Government Service.' This recommendation will be examined further when the courses of study for the University Degree are determined. It will be one of the important functions of the Academic Council to determine this aspect of University education. Thus elementary and secondary education is being carried on as well as it could be.

" The Madras University has been moulded by circumstances on which it has had little control and had produced distinguished men 3-30 p.m. among its alumni. Two things however are apparent: it has not yet succeeded in creating an academic atmosphere and a feeling of corporate unity among the institutions of which it is for certain purposes held to be constituted. In the struggle to make the examinations lighter, the period of training shorter, the question whether students emerge from the secondary stage of education properly fitted for a university course has commonly been neglected. At the same time, courses of study have increased and multiplied with the result that collegiate education has become more expensive and 'Literaræ Humaniores' have found serious rivals in special studies which are adopted largely without any reference to the choice of a career and merely as easier methods of securing the necessary certificates

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or diplomas. Such attempts as have been made to foster research or post-graduate study have met with a small measure of success, and the pursuit and encouragement of learning and scholarship for their own sake can hardly be said to exist under the system.

*Idea of a Teaching University in Madras.*

"In announcing a non-recurring grant of four lakhs of rupees to the Madras University in March 1912 and in giving a recurring grant of Rs. 65,000, the Government of India declared its policy with regard to the reconstitution of the universities on a teaching basis and proposed to the Madras University that a definite step forward towards the realization of the idea of a teaching university for higher work and to improve the inspection of colleges might be taken. The Senate discussed this policy enunciated by the Government of India on the 25th October 1912, and, in conformity with the policy of the Government of India, proposed that the university should undertake lectures upon advanced studies by specialists from Europe and India, if possible in conjunction with other universities, and agreed for the erection of a library building with lecture-rooms attached to it, and purchase books and manuscripts for a university library. A university professorship in Indian History and Archaeology was also proposed to be inaugurated in addition to three university professorships in Sanskrit, Tamil and Telugu. The Governor in Council while reserving his opinions as to the lengths to which the idea of a teaching university may be pressed with safety to the interests of teaching in the colleges, provisionally agreed with the proposals of the Senate to increase the university teaching. It was suggested that the Senate should encourage post-graduate and research work in certain subjects, such as Sanskrit and vernaculars, as well as in Indian Economics, Indian History and Archaeology and other special subjects as helpful for post-graduate study. While the Government of India was determined to adopt the recommendations of the University Commission and to reconstitute the universities as real teaching universities as far as possible, the Senate after careful deliberation resolved that development of higher study and research in Madras should begin with study of the languages of Southern India and with university lectures for post-graduate courses. The Government of India made a grant of five lakhs of rupees to the university for capital objects connected with the development of university work and a recurring grant of Rs. 65,000. The Government of Madras in the same year sanctioned the payment to the university of a sum of Rs. 1,24,000 towards the construction of a university library and lecture-rooms. The university reserved the non-recurring grant for the construction of new university buildings and for accumulating the recurring grant. Thus a considerable portion out of the grant was capitalized as a means of providing for future revenues. The accumulations therefore under various heads of revenue contributed by the Government of India and the Madras Government amounted in 1913 to a non-recurring capital sum of Rs. 6,24,000 and a recurring grant of Rs. 65,000 a year, which has now accumulated to about Rs. 2,75,000. The total amount under the head of Non-recurring Grant amounts to Rs. 8,25,000 at the end of the current year, and the total amount under the Recurring Grant amounts to Rs. 3,25,000. Since then Mysore separated herself from the Madras University, and Travancore may soon have

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its own university. Andhra is seeking to have its own university. Thus the process of division and decentralization has already begun.

*The Senate on the Calcutta University Commission Report.*

"After the publication of the Calcutta University Commission Report in 1919, the Senate with commendable earnestness and enthusiasm took up the consideration of this important matter. At its meeting held on 25th October 1919, it was resolved that a committee of the Senate be appointed to report upon the changes desirable in the University Acts and Regulations in view of the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission and to present to the Senate proposals for such changes in the form of resolutions. A general committee was appointed for the purpose. Accordingly the committee met to consider the matter and appointed several sub-committees to deal with various departments. The sub-committee that dealt with this question of the reorganization of the university recommended the adoption of the main features of the constitution for the University of Dacca and the authorities proposed for that university, namely, the court, the Executive Council, the Academic Council, the Faculties and other declared authorities for the University of Madras subject to such modifications as may be necessitated by local conditions. The recommendations of the sub-committee were considered and approved at the general meeting of the committee. The Senate, after full discussion of the recommendations, passed the following resolutions at the meetings held on the 4th and 5th March 1921 :—

*Senate resolves upon Co-operative Teaching and Residential University.*

"Resolution No. 13.—That by a system of co-operation between the colleges, and between the colleges and the university, the teaching resources which exist in the city be organized in such a way as to create a real teaching university.

"Resolution No. 15.—That the affiliating functions of the university in regard to mufassal colleges be regarded as a subsidiary and as a more or less temporary order and that a mode of organization be adopted for the mufassal colleges which will encourage the gradual rise of new university centres by the concentration of resources for higher teaching and research at a few points.

"Resolution No. 17.—That there be in the university a Department of Education and that it be a recommendation to the Government; that the Teachers' College, Saidapet, may be brought into conformity with the scheme outlined by the Calcutta University Commission.

"Again on 15th October 1921, the Senate passed the following resolution :—'That the Senate is of opinion that the time has come when the increasing demand for liberal education in this Presidency should be made by the establishment of more universities and by the redistribution of territorial area of the existing university so as to provide as far as possible at least one university for each principal linguistic area within the Presidency; and that the establishment of a university for the Andhras should be taken in hand without further delay.'

*The action taken by the Minister.*

"On receipt of these resolutions of the Senate the matter was referred to the Syndicate again requesting that body to make detailed proposals for

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introducing legislation on the lines adopted by the Senate. The Syndicate, in accordance with the resolutions of the Senate, submitted proposals for the reconstitution of the university. The proposals of the Syndicate for the reconstitution of the University of Madras are almost identical with the proposals contained in the Dacca University Act.

*The problem of University Reform, its complexity.*

"The problem of University Reform in Madras is not an easy one. At the present time there are 57 colleges affiliated to the University of Madras. Of these, 12 are located in or near the neighbourhood of Madras, one affiliated up to the Intermediate standard, six affiliated up to the B.A. Degree standard, two affiliated for the L.T. Degree Examinations and one affiliated for Medical Degrees, and one for the Engineering Degrees. Of the remaining 45 institutions which are outside the City of Madras, 31 are affiliated up to the Intermediate standard, 12 up to the B.A. Degree standard, one up to the L.T. Degree standard, one up to the B.L. Degree standard. Some of these colleges are in Native States, Hyderabad, Travancore, Cochin and Pudukkottai, while two are situated in the Civil and Military Station, Bangalore, a tract under the control of the Government of India. The colleges in the City of Madras are highly developed in the matter of teaching and equipment. Most of them have formed long tradition and close association exists between the students and the teachers of individual colleges. Hostel accommodation is also provided in most of these colleges. Little more than half the number of the university students are studying in the colleges within the City of Madras, but the colleges are isolated and are considered to be self-contained and self-dependent without any organic connexion within the university, or with other colleges in the city. There is a kind of intellectual loneliness among the professors and teachers. Their learning and experience is not capable of expansion nor is it possible of utilization for a wider area than the college. Beyond the college life there is no university life nor an academic atmosphere. Cultural side of educational life is not capable of development. It is therefore found desirable that 'a new synthesis has to be found between

3-45 p.m. the university and its colleges wherein the university will not be something outside of and apart from the colleges as it is now, but the colleges will be in the fullest sense members of and partners of the university, a system wherein the university will be really responsible for the character of the teaching given in its name and will realize that it is the training given to the students which is of primary importance and that the examinations which test this training are of subsidiary importance, a system wherein the colleges while stronger and freer than they now are and able to command more fully than ever, the loyalty of the students will neither be tempted to rival the university or claim independence of it, nor have reason to feel any jealousy or fear of it, or regard it as a competitor. The colleges must fulfil conditions different in some respects and in general much more exacting than the existing system imposes upon them. They must be prepared to work in harmony with one another and with the university to an extent now unknown. The colleges should strive after a higher ideal of being free co-operating partners in a great enterprise each making its own distinctive contribution to the common strength and each enriched by the strength of its fellows. The colleges must be given every

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ground for realizing that their prestige, security and influence over their students will not be diminished. A scheme was therefore to be prepared for a university of colleges, or a co-operative teaching university. The university must not be a competitor with its colleges but it ought in various ways to supplement their resources. This system has to be brought gradually into operation. Therefore the requirements to be made on the colleges which propose to take part in a co-operating system of teaching such as is intended in the resolution of the Senate must necessarily in many particulars differ widely from those which are held to be necessary under the affiliating system whereunder every college is normally responsible for the whole of the instruction given to its students. The organization of efficient co-operation between colleges and the university is the aim of the proposals put forward by the resolutions in the Senate. It will certainly take time to bring it into effective operation, but it is necessary that a beginning should be made. In the meanwhile the conditions as to what functions of the university and of the colleges should respectively be in this system, are to be properly understood. Upon the university would obviously fall the responsibility of organizing the co-operative system of lecturing of the colleges and contributing their share and the university making provision for the filling of gaps as well as for the avoidance of needless reduplication and over-lapping. Upon the colleges would fall the responsibility not less important. They would of course have to provide their share of the total lecturing staff giving instruction to the whole university. They will have to provide courses of lectures and classes for their own students. But besides these functions which are not unlike those that fall upon the colleges in the existing system, they would have under the new system other not less important functions which are not now provided for at all. These functions are indicated in paragraph 52 of Chapter 34, Vol. IV of the reports of the Calcutta University Commission and in the functions specified in section 13 of the Bill, the new Academic Council will have the task of laying down detailed ordinances.

*Principles of reform.*

"After a careful examination of these principles, a draft Bill was prepared and was circulated to certain members of the Syndicate and the public for their criticism. On the principles of the draft Bill, there was consensus of opinion. The main principles underlying the Bill were that the colleges in Madras were to be constituent parts of the academic body the university, and Madras should possess a teaching university with power to regulate higher education. It was proposed that while the existing university should be reorganized, it should continue to exercise its present function as an examining body for mufassal students in the Presidency of Madras and should establish closer relations with the colleges in Madras giving to the authorities of all the institutions a larger share in the Government of the university and seek in other ways to co-ordinate and control higher education in Madras on the lines of the reconstituted university of London. The individual character of each college is secured and inter-collegiate combination is made possible and in addition to the advantage of a unified control the advantage of a supply for the whole of what is lacking in the parts was secured. It was considered essential that the teaching function should be limited to a ten-mile limit and that for higher learning and research provision should be made by the university and provide facilities for university

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teaching. Though the university professors ordinarily work at the headquarters they are to visit the mufassal colleges and supplement higher teaching in them and professors in mufassal colleges will have the opportunity of being appointed as university professors, thus co-ordinating their work with the university. There would be considerable work for a whole-timed salaried Vice-Chancellor. It is very necessary if the university is to undergo the effective reorganization as a Teaching and Residential university which is intended. The work in the first few years will be very heavy for the Vice-Chancellor. Most of the professors will be doing university work. There will be considerable co-ordination and pooling in teaching. Reorganization must be carried out effectively.

*Reference to Syndicate and the Senate.*

"In accordance with the views expressed the Draft Bill was referred to the Syndicate as a whole for its criticism. The Syndicate replied that as the views of a large number, if not the majority, of the members of the Syndicate have been obtained on the Bill, requested permission to refer the Bill to the Senate to express its opinion. In accordance with that request, the Bill was referred to the Senate. The Resolution of the Senate was 'That there should be established a Teaching and Residential University of Madras with constituent colleges within the limits of that university as soon as arrangements have been made for the simultaneous establishment of similar Teaching and Residential Universities at other educational centres within the sphere of the University of Madras as constituted prior to the commencement of this Act.' In other words, the Senate, of whom 51 out of 100 members were present at the meeting, by a majority of three, practically approved the principles of the Bill, but thought other universities should be established at the same time. After the Senate meeting, a conference of some of the principals of first-grade colleges in the mufassal was held on 16th August 1922 at which colleges in Trichinopoly, Mangalore, Madura, Masulipatam (and Vizianagram) were represented (Vizianagram by a letter). All excepting the representative of Trichinopoly approved generally the principles of the Bill and all except Trichinopoly agreed to the formation of a Council of Affiliated Colleges and agreed also that it was undesirable at present to have separate examinations and courses of study for the Madras and mufassal colleges. The representative of Trichinopoly said that he desired that provision should be made in the Bill for simultaneous development of other universities in Southern India. He desired to have some form of superior recognition being granted to colleges or educational centres which are likely to develop early into new universities. Again, on the 19th August 1922, the principals of the first-grade colleges, the Presidency College, the Teachers' College, the Pachaiyappa's College, the Madras Christian College and the Wesley College were requested to meet for discussing the question. After full discussion, the Bill was agreed to. The relation between the colleges and the university is to be that the university will express itself in and through the constituent colleges. The Bill was thereafter published for opinions from all those interested in university education. Some members of the Legislative Council representing northern and southern districts have also assisted me with their opinions in support of the Bill. The views expressed in the leading columns of the press are all known to you. The 'London Times' Educational supplement, dated

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2nd September 1922, observed 'Madras is the first of the three Presidency Universities to be the subject of a published Bill designed to alter fundamentally the basis upon which they were each founded 65 years ago. . . . The study of the Draft leads to the conclusion that the Education Minister is to be congratulated upon the care and sincerity with which he seeks to apply to Madras the sound principles expounded in the Sadler Report.'

"Constructive criticisms from every quarter were carefully considered and a final Draft was prepared for the approval of Government to be placed before the Legislative Council. Permission of the Government of India was obtained to introduce it into the Legislative Council.

*Necessity for fresh direction in University life and work.*

"All reasonable opinion is clear that a fresh direction should be given to the University, and that it is time that a serious endeavour is made to provide for more direct teaching by the University and to bring the colleges of the University into more intimate contact with the University without interfering with the independence of the colleges. Such a principle could only be realized if the teaching functions of the University be limited to a narrow territory and such teaching at present is possible only in constituent colleges and for higher or post-graduate learning or research, provision should be made by the University by the appointment of University professors and laboratory and library facilities being provided for. In order to realize the unity of the University teaching whether undertaken by the University direct through teachers appointed by itself or whether such teaching is given by teachers appointed and paid for by the constituent colleges, the teachers in constituent and affiliated colleges should also be recognized as University teachers and such teachers should form a large and important portion of the members of the University. In fact, the Academic Council, which will hereafter have the direction of students, prescribe standards of teaching and examinations and will consist mostly of such teachers and the teachers of the University. 'In the nature of things such constituent colleges cannot be located at a distance from the seat of the University and therefore be located within a certain mile limit.' The constituent colleges will be the colleges, arts or professional, in or round about Madras. It is necessary at present to maintain affiliated colleges which are not or cannot become constituent colleges and the students there, subject to the statutes and ordinances, should have the privilege of appearing for University examinations. The examinations for both sets of students will be the same and the subjects which can be allowed as University course of studies in affiliated colleges may be the same.

*Beginning must be made. Status of mufassal colleges.*

"The Statement of Objects and Reasons fully sets forth the detailed provisions of the Bill and I need not take your time in discussing the same again. It would indeed be a mistake to under-rate the value and importance of the mufassal colleges. Most of them have been doing splendid work, but the difficulties to incorporate them within the University have already been noted. The whole policy underlying the Bill is to make a beginning of a co-operative teaching University where there are facilities for such purpose and to concentrate the energies in the mufassal in such a way as to develop suitable centres for the formation of other Universities. The University of

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Madras as constituted will be only a beginning and you will realize that it is wise to begin at a place where materials are ready and available for making a beginning for the gradual evolution of a teaching University. While I realise that the mufassal colleges should naturally have apprehensions about their future, I may assure them that it is far from my desire to minimise their importance or to under-rate their work. Provision is made in the Bill to safeguard their present status which is maintained as affiliated colleges. No decision affecting the status of an affiliated college shall be arrived at by Statutes except after consultation with the Council of Affiliated Colleges. By concentration and co-ordination of resources over higher teaching and research at suitable centres other Universities will be established. The Andhra University Committee submitted its report which is under the consideration of the Government. A similar question for Dravida country may soon arise. Students shall be eligible for admission to a course of study for the Degree Examination with a pass certificate in the Intermediate in Arts Examination of Madras or an examination recognised by the University as equivalent thereto and possess such further qualifications, if any, as may be prescribed by the Ordinances. The entrance to the University shall be Intermediate in Arts examination of Madras. The supervision and control of institutions preparing for such examinations continue to be the same as at present till such time after the passing of this Act as the local Government is satisfied that other and adequate arrangements have been made for the conduct of such examinations. The Senate considered the question in committee on 25th November 1920, and the committee, presided over by Diwan Bahadur R. Venkataraman Nayudu, that was appointed to discuss the position of Secondary Education in the light of Sadler's Commission recommendations, considered the matter. Opinions are by no means unanimous, and it is therefore desirable to give an opportunity to the new Academic Council to make its recommendations to the Government as early as possible for action to be taken. The University has the right to lay down standards and conditions of admission into its portals. The period of Degree Course and the control and conduct of Intermediate Examination in Arts are important academic questions which the special body like the Academic Council is most competent to advise. Government may then take action under clause 32 of the Bill.

"In the governance of the University the mufassal colleges have been given greater voice. In the constitution of the Syndicate, adequate representation of mufassal colleges is provided, while under the existing system there is hardly any statutory claim for representation. In the Academic Council which is the pivot of the scheme that is responsible for the organization of higher teaching and higher study, the mufassal colleges have large representation. In the Senate, the ex-officio members from mufassal colleges will now be a strong force, and in addition to the larger representation and greater recognition of their rights and interests there is the Council of Affiliated Colleges which will exclusively consist of representatives of mufassal colleges, and this Council will watch the interests of the mufassal colleges in either matters academic or in matters financial. They could not and would not allow any method that would be adopted by the University to the detriment of the prestige or influence of the mufassal colleges. Hence a power is vested in the mufassal colleges, a power which they do not

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possess under the existing system. The Bill provides great incentive to mufassal colleges to emulate the constituent colleges and grow stronger to concentrate all efforts to become the centre of new University.

"I would therefore earnestly appeal to the mufassal colleges that in this great task of the reformation of the University they would co-operate in making a beginning at a centre most suitable for such development. The transition from a purely examining to a teaching and examining body is inevitable and desirable. The full reformation cannot be effected in a day. A start has to be made. From the aims and objects of the University it would be clear that the new University will work on co-operative lines in utilizing the teaching resources available and bringing the colleges and the University into closer partnership.

"The funds contributed to the University are placed on a statutory basis and an obligation is created for subsidising University expansion. Every reform and every progress implies additional expenditure. The financial liability under the system described above is not as heavy as it would be when a new University is established elsewhere. A University Library and Professorships will be found and a Laboratory will be established. We have facilities for the utilization of a well equipped laboratory. From what is already said with reference to the grant of the Government of India for a definite step to be taken towards the realization of the idea of a teaching University, there is a fund of about eleven lakhs out of which, expenditure for a new library hall, lecture rooms, equipment and books is provided. Government have a highly endowed laboratory and lecture rooms newly constructed from State funds which would also be used for the University. A separate laboratory hall must be constructed in course of time and this will spread over three or four years before completion. What is now estimated is a recurring grant of about three lakhs of rupees for University development, with a non-recurring grant for a few years to complete the construction of a separate building if necessary and further to make provision for developing constituent colleges and other University centres. The scheme will work gradually and it will take time for the individual colleges and the University to fulfil the objects of the Bill. Even if the cost is larger, I am sure a scheme such as the above which would lighten the burdens of examinations and emphasize higher teaching and training and provides for research and University life is worth having. I would not detain you longer in discussing the detailed provisions of the Bill which are already dealt with in the statement accompanying the Bill.

"The Bill has for its aim to improve teaching, to open the way for research, to insist residence in some institution as a part of the University life with a view to making the college course more fruitful by promoting an academic atmosphere. It proposes the reconstitution of the existing University by enlargement of the Senate, the formation of an Academic Council, the development of hostels, the provision of laboratories for advanced teaching and research. With these, to use the language of one of the ablest educationists of Southern India, Professor F. E. Corley, 'The University as remodelled under the Bill ought to be able to enlarge and at the same time to intensify its activities to the great benefit of education in Southern India'. Sir, I beg to move that the Bill to provide for the reorganization of the Madras University, 1922, be read in Council."

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Rev. W. MESTON :—“ It is with deep satisfaction, Sir, that I beg to support the motion for the introduction of this Bill ; and that satisfaction is due to various considerations.

“ In the first place, this is a constructive measure of University development. I say ‘ development ’ because if I were to use the word ‘ reform ’ it might be thought that I was referring to something of the nature of a revolution, and I have too great a respect for, and pride in, the University of Madras, to wish for anything revolutionary in connexion with it. I rather desire to see advance which will be as gradual as is consistent with growth, and as complete as is consistent with stability. That desire is largely satisfied by the measure under consideration, and for that, as for the very clear and full manner in which he has presented the matter, we are under a debt of gratitude to the hon. the Minister to whom our hearty congratulations are due. This measure is constructive. We have had much criticism of the University of Madras, so much that at times the one outstanding and undeniable fact has sometimes been overlooked, the fact, viz., that the University has behind it a record of more than half a century of solid achievement, achievement recognized and acknowledged not only in this presidency but throughout the whole country. This Bill is constructive both by what it gives, and by what it makes possible. Time permits me to make but the very slightest reference to these points. The Bill gives us for one thing a Senate which combines academic and non-academic interests and which is largely elective. It gives us also an Academic Council where those who are specially qualified to deal with curricula and educational requirements will have the opportunity of advising the University. And the Bill makes it possible for mufassal colleges to remain as they do at present under the guidance of their *alma mater*, and then when the time comes, as it were, to set up house for themselves and group themselves into local universities. It also makes it possible for the intermediate classes to remain as they are until the Academic Council is able to make its recommendations, giving us, as I trust, for the first time a really unbroken university course, and giving to these classes a relationship with the educational system of the country which will redeem them from the somewhat undignified position of half-way houses that is almost inseparable from their present designation.

“ But the measure is more than constructive ; it is also a practical measure. It solves a difficulty which is pressing on this University. Those who are acquainted with the University know that it is becoming unwieldy, and they have no desire that it should share the fate of the sister University of Calcutta. This Bill makes a beginning of the solution of this difficulty in a feasible way. For a beginning, as it seems to me, must always be made somewhere, and not (as some seem to think) everywhere. Now, that somewhere is undoubtedly the City of Madras. In it, as the hon. the Minister has pointed out, there are exceptional opportunities for combination of colleges, and exceptional provision for arts and professional education. In Madras there is already more than a nucleus of a university, for in the city there are colleges which are actually working in a certain measure of combination. And the organization of the colleges in Madras may be done without depriving any college outside Madras of any privilege now enjoyed. Indeed the colleges outside Madras have not only, under the

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Bill, their former privileges conserved, they have them enhanced in at least two ways. For one thing a council of affiliated colleges is to be established in which the special needs of these colleges will be represented and considered, and for another thing statutory provision is made for supplementary teaching in these colleges under section 14 (8) of the Bill. The organization at Madras, then, is but the first stage now contemplated ; the second stage is the encouragement of the mufassal colleges to combine in appropriate centres for the establishment of separate universities. And when the university in the City of Madras has been constituted, this second state will be helped forward in various ways. The University of Madras will be before these local universities, either as a pattern or as a warning ; and more than that it will act in the most forcible manner as a lever for their own advance. I have before this time said to the hon. the Minister that as soon as the university at Madras is established he will not have a moment's rest till the local universities are fully established. The present measure then provides the only practical way in which a series of strong universities can be set up in this Presidency, and at a minimum of expenditure.

“ Then I regard this Bill as a truly effective measure. It lays emphasis upon life, corporate and academic. This has an important bearing on the length of the university curriculum and in other ways. For the life, on which the Minister has so well dwelt, is to run through different channels, and these channels are the various colleges each yielding its characteristic contribution. The university is to reach its power by the freest and fullest development of the colleges not by killing them. If this Bill meant what the writer in the Educational Supplement of the *Times* understood it to mean, the absorption of all colleges by the university, the university stretching out its hand till it held all in its grasp, so that colleges became reduced to mere hostels, I should have opposed this Bill and fought against it with all my power. Why ? For a selfish reason ? No, for a national reason. For if you kill the individuality of any college, you stop the flow of a stream which is contributory to the national life (Hear, hear). Under the Bill the university is to supplement the colleges, not to rival them. The growth of the university in strength will be marked by the growth of the colleges in strength and individuality. I believe the hon. the Minister finds it somewhat hard to express this relationship legally. May I suggest that it may be done in two other ways—academically, by a larger representation of the colleges as such on the Senate and Academic Council, and financially, by larger provision for academic development. Thus in the life of the colleges the university will share, and the colleges will benefit by the life of the university.

“ Another consideration which makes me support this measure is that it proceeds along constitutional lines. The main principles underlying this Bill, as the hon. the Minister has pointed out, have been already approved by the University. Why then, it may be asked, not follow out what has been done and let the University act for itself ? Because, for one thing, even that procedure would have involved changes requiring an application to the Legislative ; and for another thing because, since the 1919-20 discussions, education has passed under the control of a popularly elected body. It will be a happy circumstance, I cannot but think, if the positions adopted by an academic Senate at the beginning of 1921 receive statutory

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enactment at the hands of a popular Legislative Council at the end of 1922. It will be a sign of the closer drawing of two of the greatest powers in the country—good government and good education.

“ These features of the Bill, I need hardly say, go along with others, which rouse some opposition, or if not opposition, at least obstinate questionings. I may mention the emphasis of, and certain words in, the preamble which I should like to see changed, the constitution of the Academic Council which, as I have mentioned, I should like to see strengthened, the provision for the acquisition of colleges by the university which I trust will not be called into force for any arts college, the financial relations of the colleges to the university and the Government which are not clear, certain functions assigned to the Vice-Chancellor which might be modified with advantage and, what appears to me to be practically a statutory provision for the exclusion of teachers from the benefits of a teaching university.

“ I do not dwell upon these, however, at this time. It would be ungracious to dwell upon what may be set right when the Bill is in the hands of the select committee. But I think it well to mention these points, so as to make it perfectly clear that, with all my respect for the Bill, these are certain features of it which I trust to see altered or eliminated.

“ With the large-minded modification which is possible, the Bill will, I believe, make provision for an educational advance which will be felt in every high school and college in this Presidency; and for that main reason I beg to support the motion of the hon. the Minister.”

**Mr. S. ARPUDASWAMI UDAYAR :**—“ Mr. President, Sir, it is my painful duty to oppose the main principles of this Bill. My friend, the hon. the Minister for Education, referred pointedly to Trichinopoly, but I may assure him that I represent not merely Trichinopoly, but I represent also Tanjore and Madura, and that my views are the views of the constituency which I represent.”

**The hon. Mr. A. P. PATRO :**—“ I consulted the views on the principles of the Bill of the late lamented Mr. Zumbro who accepted them.”

**Mr. S. ARPUDASWAMI UDAYAR :**—“ I may tell you, Sir, that his successor has signed a memorial. The first feature that I object to, Sir, is the ten-mile limit. It confers the privilege of a constituent college, not on grounds of efficiency, but on the question of an institution which happens to be situated within the City of Madras. The hon. the Minister said that the City of Madras had colleges highly developed. I do not object to that statement. However, I think except two colleges, the others have made no provision for Honours courses, but I know in the mufassal there are two colleges which have made ample provision for Honours courses and these Honours courses as I shall have occasion to show, do constitute the advanced teaching or higher teaching which has been referred to often and often in the report. It brings into existence two kinds of university life, two kinds of university teaching, two kinds of university equipment, status, standards and privileges. The colleges situated in the City of Madras become constituent colleges of the teaching and residential university, while the colleges in the mufassal stations become *exterus* lying outside the

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teaching and residential university. The constituent colleges have the benefit of university professorships, university lectures, university libraries and laboratories, university teaching and university curricula determined by university teaching.

"The colleges outside the limits of the teaching and residential university are suffered by affiliation to send up candidates for examinations

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conducted by the university which in relation to them

becomes a mere examining body. They are expected to compete, as the hon. Member said, with the constituent colleges. They have to prepare their students as best they can and send them up for the same examinations but without the facilities and helps enjoyed by the constituent colleges. Their curricula will be determined not so much by university teaching as by public examinations. This distinction, Sir, between two kinds of university life and two types of colleges will by the passing of this Bill become legal and statutory. It has been contended that even now the distinction exists. It may exist, Sir, in the prejudices or in the imagination of some who ignore the fact that under the present dispensation all colleges, whether they be situated in the City of Madras or outside it, are on a footing of complete equality in respect of organization, of teaching and examinations. But hereafter this distinction will become real; it will be grounded on fact and employers will be justified in thinking that the products of a teaching and residential university ought to be like the graduates of Cambridge and Oxford much better men, men superior to the graduates of mufassal colleges. And Indian parents who are shrewd enough to invest their money in very paying concerns will try to avail themselves of the very best kind of university teaching for their children and will spare no pains, will grudge no pecuniary sacrifice, at least those who can afford to pay, to send their children to Madras. This will result in two evils—overcrowding of the constituent colleges and overcrowding of hostels and of the City of Madras where hostel accommodation for students is not after all quite adequate, and the other evil . . . . ."

The hon. Rao Bahadur A. P. PATRO:—"The Bill safeguards against overcrowding as the number and space are limited."

Mr. S. ARPUDASWAMI UDAYAR:—"I will come to it later on, Sir. Secondly, it will result in the depletion of mufassal colleges. The better classes of students will flock to the constituent colleges. Those who cannot gain admission or are too poor to seek admission, into the constituent colleges—poor non-Brahman classes, Muhammadans, Indian Christians and a number of the depressed classes, who cannot afford to meet the costly provision—will perhaps reluctantly join the mufassal colleges. The hopes held out, Sir, of a future provision made for teaching universities will become harder of realization after the passing of the Bill than they are now. For, when a college enjoys complete equality with some slight encouragement it can be made to rival the best institution here in the city. But when once the balance is disturbed, when once the mufassal colleges sink in popular estimation or begin to be considered inferior to the constituent colleges, the mufassal institutions will fail, never to rise again. This ten-mile limit centralizes higher university teaching, confines to a centre, a member, a part, however important, of the 'senatus academicus', educational facilities and helps which ought, in all fairness to be fairly distributed throughout the whole body, to all its parts and members.

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" Some kind of decentralization is necessary in university teaching, that very decentralization which the hon. the Minister for Education began his apologia with. This can best be effected not by the expression of a wish for a future provision but by the simultaneous creation not necessarily of universities, but at least of university centres enjoying a certain degree of autonomy. Decentralization in administration has been followed by decentralization in elementary education and secondary education. As the hon. the Minister himself so ably put it, educational councils have been formed, secondary education boards are in the making. So while decentralization is the watch-word everywhere, in all branches of administration, in the departments of elementary education, secondary education, university teaching alone, Sir, will prove an exception to the rule and will become, I fear, a close preserve. Free compulsory elementary education and expansion of secondary education to which the hon. the Minister himself referred will result in an unwonted increase in the number of students seeking admission into colleges. Surely, Sir, it is unfair to shut out any student or any class of students possessing exceptional intelligence, abilities or capacity from having the very best kind of university teaching. Not all, it is true, are capable of benefiting by university education but the aim should be to give the opportunity of the highest university teaching for all who are intellectually and mentally capable of it. The limit should be set by mental capacity not by lack of opportunities or economic circumstances or geographical limits. The ideal should be to make things of the mind accessible to all, in widest commonality spread like the gifts of Nature.

" University work, Sir, must, as the hon. the Minister hinted, be adapted to the needs and requirements of the different parts of the Presidency. Languages differ, historical traditions differ, industrial and commercial activities and possibilities differ. Trades and callings may differ; education will have to be adjusted to these different needs when these needs make themselves felt. With the simultaneous creation of some university centres, increased opportunities will arise for the provision of a greater variety of courses, higher courses, for the expansion of the residential system, thereby fostering the corporate life of the university or university centre of giving greater importance to character training, will training, the development of the social side of the university, how university training is a thing to be used for the common good and not to be hugged as a private possession. The virtual shutting out of such possibilities by the suggestion of a remote provision which may be given effect to when constituent colleges shall have marched with giant strides and the mufassal colleges shall have lagged behind in the race, which must necessarily be the case if the present policy of depriving them of equipment grant, building grant continues, is certainly another disadvantage arising from the imposition of this limit. The second feature has reference to the residential character of the university. Here I must say that for a university to be strictly residential it should provide adequate hostel accommodation for all its alumni. At present hostel accommodation for students in Madras is only about 22 per cent and accommodation should be found for the remaining 78 per cent. Now at the rate of a thousand rupees for each pupil a lakh of rupees will be required for finding accommodation for the remaining 78 per cent and for the larger number who will be drawn to the city hereafter. Otherwise the new university will be residential but in name."

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The DEPUTY PRESIDENT (*from the Chair*):—"It is time for the hon. Member to close."

Mr. S. ARPUDASWAMI UDAYAR:—"I am not even allowed twenty minutes, Sir."

Diwan Bahadur M. KRISHNAN NAYAR:—"May I know whether, with reference to speeches on a legislative measure, there is any time-limit fixed? I am aware, Sir, that there is a time-limit fixed for all speakers except the mover, of ten minutes with reference to resolutions in general. But I wish to know whether there is any time-limit fixed with reference to speeches on the sections of a Bill."

The DEPUTY PRESIDENT (*from the Chair*):—"Yes, the limit was specially fixed and announced in the House last time."

Mr. S. ARPUDASWAMI UDAYAR:—"Then, Sir, the third feature is the confusion that exists between the ordinary university work of colleges and higher university work. If specialization is insisted on with regard to the ordinary pass course teaching, I think there is hardly any constituent college in the city, which is capable of accommodating some five or six hundred students taking History or Philosophy or Natural Sciences. With such numbers there could be no teaching, no discipline and the confusion resulting from the dispersal of this large body and the migrations of the students from one college to another in this city of distances baffle all description.

"The next feature, Sir, is the provision made in clause 14 (14) and (40) for assuming the management of private institutions and the management of Government institutions transferred to the university. This at least implies a process of absorption and the fact that the Bill foresees and provides for such transfers introduces, I think, a dangerous principle, a dangerous tendency, a new feature in the world of education."

Mr. C. RAMALINGA REDDI:—"Mr. Udayar proceeds on entirely unfounded premises. The Bill provides for voluntary transfer."

The DEPUTY PRESIDENT (*from the Chair*):—"The hon. Member Mr. Arpudaswami Udayar has exceeded his time-limit and will please resume his seat."

Mr. M. RATNASWAMI:—"Mr. President, one of the advantages of the party system is that it makes possible the carrying out of large legislative programmes. The possession of a substantial and continuous majority by one party in this House makes possible the introduction of a number of legislative proposals which have certain definite principles behind them. The possession of the substantial and continuous majority no doubt works unto inconvenience and is sometimes looked upon as an undiluted nuisance by one section of this House. As I said, it has compensating advantages and that is, it makes possible the introduction of legislative measures of far-reaching importance. This morning we witnessed the passing of a Bill from which great consequences are expected to arise. And this afternoon we have seen the introduction of a Bill which claims to influence the educational life of this Presidency to a very considerable extent. The reception of the Bill by the public has been of a mixed character. To judge from the utterances in the Press one would think that there was a considerable amount of opposition to the principles of the Bill but when we analyse the opposition especially in

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the Senate we shall see that the opposition is not of a very serious character. For instance, if we analyse the vote at the recent meeting of the Senate we shall see that the proposal to discuss in detail the University Bill was defeated by a very small majority—a majority composed on the one hand of people who wanted to wreck the Bill totally, and on the other of people who feared unnecessarily about the future of their own colleges.

“It is my painful duty to oppose my old friend and teacher Mr. Arpudaswami Udayar in connexion with this Bill. He tried to 4-45 p.m. make out a very serious case on behalf of the mufassal colleges.

Sir, I can speak with a certain amount of detachment upon this question because I never had the good fortune or the misfortune of being educated in a Madras college. From the very beginning I was educated in mufassal colleges, one of them being the St. Joseph's College, Trichinopoly. Therefore, when I say that the opposition on behalf of the mufassal colleges is not well founded, my opinion is not based upon any consideration of vested interests but is based upon a serious view of the educational interests of the Presidency. As the hon. the Minister for Education has stated in his opening speech, enough provision is made in the governing bodies of the university for the representation of mufassal colleges. In fact, one might say that he had gone the length of giving them what a Madras man might consider to be over-representation in the Senate, in the Syndicate and in the Academic Councils, seeing that the mufassal colleges have little or nothing to do with the life led by the students in the Madras City colleges. My hon. friend Mr. Arpudaswami Udayar has alluded to the ten-mile limit and stated that it was an impossible thing to attach to a university. Well, Sir, if we are going to have a teaching university and a residential university, then we must have some kind of limit.”

Mr. S. ARPUDASWAMI UDAYAR:—“What I wanted to say was: ‘Have a limit, but simultaneously have university centres as the Saddler Commission recommended. Colleges which promise to become potential universities ought to be encouraged.’ That was what I meant. By all means have a ten-mile limit, but at the same time make provision for the simultaneous creation of universities.”

Mr. M. RATNASWAMI:—“As I was going to say, we cannot have a university sprawling all over the country like the present Madras University. The universities in India came into existence under very peculiar conditions. The British Government in the initial stages of their rule wanted a large number of highly trained clerks to facilitate them in the business of administering this country. That was why they laid down that the standard of B.A. should be attained by every candidate seeking an appointment in the public service. I would request Mr. Arpudaswami Udayar and those who are intent upon opposing this Bill to go back to the old mediæval idea of a university which was that a university should be a local corporation of colleges living an organic life and that a university should be as social in its character as possible. Now, these ideals of the mediæval university cannot be realized in a university which is sprawling all over the country. Mr. Arpudaswami Udayar was also very anxious about the future of the mufassal colleges. Personally I have not such a low opinion of the organization and the resources of teaching of the mufassal colleges as he seems to have. The disadvantages that he alluded to exist at the present

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moment. Now the Madras colleges on account of their position do enjoy advantages which are denied to the mufassal colleges. I am sure that the powers of organization and resourcefulness of the mufassal colleges would be quite equal to the new conditions and circumstances that are going to be created by this Bill. My hon. friend Mr. Arpudaswami Udayar drew a very lurid picture of the future of the mufassal colleges. Personally I think that whatever the disadvantages which these colleges might suffer from, they would be only of a temporary character. The incentive given under this Bill for the formation of new universities in places like Trichinopoly is indeed very great, and I think these colleges would be encouraged, or impelled or even forced to establish universities of the kind contemplated by the University Bill. This Bill provides for the establishment of a teaching university and for the incorporation of constituent colleges that exist at the present time or that might come into existence in future into a teaching and a residential university. It seems to me that this attempt on the part of the hon. the Minister for Education to establish a university of this kind ought to receive all possible encouragement and support. It is true that the educational millennium will not be introduced by the passing of this Bill. I do not think that the hon. the Minister for Education is so vain as to think that this Bill will be an educational panacea for the curing of all the diseases from which the educational life of this Presidency is at present suffering. On the whole, I think this is a step in the right direction. Of course, modifications will have to be suggested at the select committee stage. The Bill requires improvements in several directions. Care should be taken to see that the autonomy of the constituent colleges is under no circumstances impaired, because, as my hon. friend Mr. Meston pointed out, the life of a university rests on that of the constituent colleges and there can be no life if the individuality and personality of these colleges are threatened to any extent however small. This Bill is not at all intended to bring about absolute educational peace and prosperity, but I think that it is an earnest attempt, however small it may be, to lay the foundations of future educational progress. Therefore I think it is the duty of every one who is interested in promoting real university life to welcome this measure and to accept the principle underlying the Bill. All the suggestions and improvements that may be necessary to make this Bill realize the object for which it is intended may be made at the select committee or at the third reading stage."

The Council then adjourned at 4-55 p.m. to meet at 11 a.m. on Wednesday, the 15th November 1922.

L. D. SWAMIKANNU,  
*Secretary to the Legislative Council.*